

Interviews: 800 Respondents
Date: August 28, 1991

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4020
NBC News/WSJ
August 1991

Diagram illustrating the structure of the 1991 Form SAM (Sample Allocation Map) fields:

- AR** (Allocation Record): 2 bytes (fields [6] and [7]).
- TYPE** (Type): 1 byte (field [8]).
- SAM** (Sample Allocation Map): 3 bytes (fields [9], [10], and [11]).
- FORM** (Form): 1 byte (field [12]).
- August** (August): 1 byte (field [13]).
- DAT** (Date): 2 bytes (fields [13] and [14]).
- 1991** (Year): 1 byte (field [15]).
- TIM** (Time): 4 bytes (fields [15], [16], [17], and [18]).
- Be sure** (Note): A box containing the text "Be sure" and a small diagram.

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes.....	100	CONTINUE	[19]
No.....	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT	
Not sure.....	-		

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Right direction..	41	33	40	40	55	65	28	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42	[20]
Wrong track.....	38	50	44	38	26	22	51	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34	
Mixed (VOL).....	15	12	13	17	15	9	15	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19	

Not sure..... 6 | 5 3 5 4 4 6 5 5 5 4 8 5 5 5 5

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/91</u>	<u>1/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/30-31/90</u>	<u>10/19-21/90</u>	
Approve.....	70	67	76	74	81	85	77	57	56	59	[21]
Disapprove.....	21	25	21	19	13	11	15	36	32	32	
Not sure.....	9	8	3	7	6	4	8	7	12	9	
		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
		75	67	72	75	69	71	67	67		
		15	22	21	15	19	19	22	17		
		10	11	7	10	12	10	11	16		

4. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the situation in the Soviet Union?

Approve.....	74	[22]
Disapprove.....	13	
Not sure.....	13	

5. Thinking about our relations with the Soviet Union over the past few years, some people say that President Bush should have done more to support President Gorbachev. Other people say that President Bush did not pay enough attention to other reform leaders in the Soviet Union such as Boris Yeltsin. Which comes closest to your point of view--that President Bush should have done more to support President Gorbachev, that he should have paid more attention to other reform leaders such as Boris Yeltsin, or do you think he balanced the various factions in the Soviet Union about right?

Should have done more to support Gorbachev....	13	[23]
Should have paid more attention to other reform leaders.....	19	
Balanced factions about right.....	58	
Not sure.....	10	

6. Let me read you a number of areas that the president of the United States deals with as part of his job. Which one of the following do you think should be the president's most important priority? **(READ CHOICES. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

		<u>7/91</u>	
Dealing with the U.S. economy.....	36	37	[24]
Dealing with national security and U.S. foreign policy	12	13	
Dealing with domestic issues such as education, health care, and the environment.....	45	43	
	1	-	
Other (VOL).....			
All of these equally (VOL).....	5	6	
None of these (VOL).....	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	

7. I'm going to read you the names of some people who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name of a person, please just say so. (READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Mikhail Gorbachev	20	45	20	9	3	3	[25]
June 1991	16	42	22	10	7	3	
May 1991 *	13	34	25	13	7	8	
March 1991	10	32	23	17	11	7	
February 1991	7	32	30	18	8	5	
July 1990	22	43	17	8	5	5	
May 1990	19	40	19	10	6	6	
December 1989	15	36	26	11	6	6	
November 1989	13	41	20	10	8	8	
Boris Yeltsin.....	21	29	20	9	3	18	[26]
June 1991	8	25	19	4	1	42	
July 1990	2	10	14	5	3	66	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

8. Do you think recent events in the Soviet Union will make the world more stable, less stable, or not really affect the stability of the world?

More stable.....	43	[27]
Less stable.....	31	
Not really affect the stability of the world..	15	
Not sure.....	11	

9. Based on what you know, do you think President Gorbachev will or will not still be the leader of the Soviet Union one year from now?

		<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>5/90 *</u>	
Will still be the leader.....	29	53	49	42	61	[28]
Will not still be the leader.	61	34	42	45	23	
Not sure.....	10	13	8	13	13	

* In May 1990, this question read "From what you know, do you think President Gorbachev will or will not still be the leader of the Soviet Union two years from now?"

10. Who would you like to see as the leader of the Soviet Union--(READ CHOICES. ROTATE.)?

		<u>6/91¹</u>	
Mikhail Gorbachev. .	47	63	[29]
Boris Yeltsin.....	27	24	
Neither (VOL).....	5	3	
Not sure.....	21	11	

¹In June, question only asked of respondents who could rate their feelings toward Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Results for August reported above based on all respondents. August figures for voters who could rate their feelings: Gorbachev (46%), Yeltsin (30%), Neither (5%), Not sure (19%).

11. Do you think that recent events in the Soviet Union do or do not signal the end of communism?

Do signal the end of communism.....	59	[30]
Do not signal the end of communism.....	33	
Not sure.....	8	

- 12a. As a result of recent events in the Soviet Union, do you think relations between the United States and the Soviet Union will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

Get better.....	59	[31]
Get worse.....	7	
Stay about the same.....	31	
Not sure.....	3	

- 12b. If Boris Yeltsin becomes the leader of the Soviet Union, do you think relations between the United States and the Soviet Union will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

Get better.....	36	[32]
Get worse.....	15	
Stay about the same.....	36	
Not sure.....	13	

- 13a. Do you think the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union is still going on, or is it mostly over?

		<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>12/89</u>	<u>11/89</u>	
Still going on.....	34	44	41	46	46	[33]
Mostly over.....	60	49	51	40	46	
Not sure.....	6	7	8	14	8	

- 13b. When Ronald Reagan was president he said that the Soviet Union was an evil empire and the focus of evil in the modern world. Would you agree or disagree with this statement today?

Agree.....	24	[34]
Disagree.....	69	
Not sure.....	7	

14. If President Gorbachev is no longer the leader of the Soviet Union, do you think the Soviets could be trusted more, less, or about the same to live up to agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union?

		<u>6/91</u>	
Trusted more.....	11	3	[35]
Trusted less.....	27	37	
Trusted about the same..	51	47	
Depends (VOL).....	5	8	
Not sure.....	6	5	

- 15a. Do you think it would be better--for the United States--if the republics that form the Soviet Union remain together as one nation, or if they break apart and form separate nations?

Better if republics stay together.....	43	[36]
Better if republics break apart.....	40	
Both equally (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	14	

- 15b. Do you think the United States should or should not recognize the independence of the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which have been part of the Soviet Union?

Should recognize.....	76	[37]
Should not recognize.....	9	
Wait and see (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	10	

- 16a. Do you feel that the United States should or should not help the Soviet Union to strengthen its economy?

		<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>12/89</u>	
Should.....	51	52	51	38	38	45	[38]
Should not.....	36	39	38	45	50	40	
Depends (VOL).....	10	5	7	11	6	8	
Not sure.....	3	4	4	6	6	7	

- 16b. Would you approve or disapprove of using some funds from the U.S. defense budget to help the Soviets with their economy?

Approve.....	31	[39]
Disapprove.....	63	
Not sure.....	6	

17. Let me read you a list of several ways in which the United States could aid the Soviet Union's economy. For each one, please tell me whether you favor or oppose this idea. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE.)**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Allow American companies to sell high-technology products to the Soviet Union even if they have potential military usage.....	18	78	4	[40]
June 1991	16	81	2	
December 1989	17	77	6	
Allow the Soviet Union to join international lending institutions so they could borrow more money from the West.....	58	36	6	[41]
June 1991	54	40	6	
December 1989	45	48	7	
Provide direct economic aid to the Soviets...	39	56	5	[42]
June 1991	34	61	5	
December 1991	26	66	8	

18. Prior to the recent events in the Soviet Union, the United States had planned to reduce its military spending by about 25 percent by the year 1995. In light of the recent events in the Soviet Union, do you think the United States should reduce its military spending by a smaller amount in the neighborhood of 10 percent, by about the original amount of about 25 percent, or by a larger amount in the neighborhood of 40 to 50 percent?

Smaller amount of 10 percent.....	38	[43]
Original amount of about 25 percent....	44	
Larger amount of 40 to 50 percent.....	13	
Not sure.....	5	

19. How concerned are you that the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union may no longer be controlled by the leaders of the central government--extremely concerned, quite concerned, just somewhat concerned, or not that concerned?

Extremely concerned.....	35	[44]
Quite concerned.....	22	
Just somewhat concerned.....	27	
Not that concerned.....	14	
Not sure.....	2	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	7	[45]
Somewhat liberal.....	17	
Moderate.....	24	
Somewhat conservative.....	27	
Very conservative.....	11	
No thoughts.....	12	
Not sure.....	2	

- F2. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	16	[46]
Not strong Democrat.....	17	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	6	
Strictly Independent.....	15	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not strong Republican.....	17	
Strong Republican.....	15	
Other.....	3	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	1	

- F3. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	9	45-49.....	8	[47]
25-29.....	9	50-54.....	7	
30-34.....	12	55-59.....	8	
35-39.....	11	60-64.....	7	
40-44.....	12	65 and over.....	17	
		Not sure/refused.....	-	

May we please have your initials for validation purposes?

[53]	[54]	[55]

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

RECORD THE FOLLOWING--DO NOT ASK!

Interview began: : a.m. p.m. Interview ended: : a.m. p.m.
(circle) (circle)

Telephone Number--Get from Call Sheet:

AREA

[56]	[57]	[58]

[59]	[60]	[61]

[62]	[63]	[64]	[65]

Caller Identification Number:

[66]	[67]	[68]	[69]

Length of Interview--Record Number of Minutes:

[70]	[71]

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED

ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH HART-TEETER

Interviewer's Name (PLEASE SIGN):

[illegible]

Validator: Record a "1"

[73]